

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT UR

SUBJECT: PART II - KHRUSHCHEV REMEMBERS: THE LAST  
TESTAMENT

MOSCOW PASS LENINGRAD BY POUCH

1. TIME MAGAZINE AND VARIOUS FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS WILL  
PUBLISH IN THEIR APRIL 29 ISSUES EXCERPTS FROM PART II OF  
BEGIN UNDERLINE KHRUSHCHEV REMEMBERS: THE LAST TESTAMENT  
END UNDERLINE. THE FOLLOWING IS DEPARTMENT'S PRELIMINARY  
SUMMARY AND AN ASSESSMENT.

2. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED: IN MARCH, TIME ANNOUNCED ITS  
SUBSIDIARY, LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY, WOULD PUBLISH  
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THIS JUNE PART II OF KHRUSHCHEV REMEMBERS. SIMULTANEOUSLY  
IT TURNED OVER 180 HOURS OF TAPES TO COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY'S  
ORAL HISTORY PROJECT ALONG WITH QUOTE AUTHENTICATION  
UNQUOTE OF 175.5 HOURS BY VOICE-PRINT BY NJ LABORATORY.

REMAINDER OF RECORDINGS TOO ROUGH TO AUTHENTICATE.  
TECHNIQUE NOW ACCEPTED BY COURTS IN 23 STATES AND DC.  
SOME 80-90 HOURS COVER VOLUME I; REMAINDER VOLUME II, WHICH  
TIME SAYS WAS RECORDED AFTER PUBLICATION OF VOLUME I.  
VOLUME II WILL COVER PERIOD SINCE STALIN'S DEATH TO

KHRUSHCHEV'S OWN DEMISE IN SEPTEMBER, 1971. MATERIALS  
NOT INCLUDED IN VOLUME I MOSTLY CONCERNED WWII BATTLES,  
ACCORDING TO TIME; IN VOLUME II, OMITTED MATERIALS DEALT  
WITH AGRICULTURE. VOLUME II TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY  
STROBE TALBOT; INTRODUCTIONS ARE BY EDWARD CRANKSHAW,  
TALBOT, AND SCHECTER WHO WAS INTIMATELY INVOLVED IN PRO-  
CUREMENT OF MATERIALS. END UNCLASSIFIED.

3. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL: DIRECTOR, MARSHALL SHULMAN,  
RUSSIAN INSTITUTE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, ACCEPTED TAPES AND  
IN EARLY APRIL CALLED CONFERENCE OF LEADING SOVIETOLOGISTS,  
SUCH AS GEORGE KENNAN AND ALEX DALLIN, AND REPUTABLE  
JOURNALISTS LIKE HARRISON SALISBURY AND PER EGIL HEGGE,  
TO LISTEN TO TAPES. WE ARE INFORMED THAT VIRTUALLY ALL  
DOUBTS REGARDING AUTHENTICITY NOW RESOLVED, THOUGH GAPS IN  
TAPES, SAID BY TIME TO HAVE BEEN MADE BY TRANSCRIBERS WHO  
WERE MEMBERS OF FAMILY AND FRIENDS, WERE PUZZLING.  
TIME SAYS IN PRINT THAT ALL MATERIALS IN VOLUME I WERE  
FROM TAPES EXCEPT FOR CHAPTER ON 20TH PARTY CONGRESS  
WHICH WAS TRANSCRIBED FROM NOTES OF A DISCUSSION WITH  
KHRUSHCHEV, BUT HAS ADMITTED TO US THAT IT ADDED FOUR  
PASSAGES OF GENUINE PRE-OUSTER KHRUSHCHEV TO VOLUME I  
AT REQUEST OF PURVEYORS TO OBFUSCATE AUTHENTICITY.  
SHULMAN CONFERENCE WAS CRITICAL OF SCHOLARSHIP OF COM-  
PILORS WHO EXERCISED GREAT LICENSE IN COMPOSING TEXT FROM  
RAMBLING REMARKS BY KHRUSHCHEV OVER FOUR YEAR SPAN  
BEGINNING IN 1967. ON BASIS OF OUR KNOWLEDGE, WE CONCUR  
IN THAT CRITICISM. END CONFIDENTIAL.

4. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED. TIME HEADINGS ARE INTRODUCTION  
BY SCHECHTER, PROLOGUE BY KHRUSHCHEV, DEALING WITH NIXON,  
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THE UN, DEALING WITH INTELLECTUALS, ON SOVIET MISSILE  
DEVELOPMENT, THE TOUR OF FRANCE, CHINA AND CHAIRMAN MAO  
TSE-TUNG, AND ADENAUER AND BOHLEN.

(A) IN HIS INTRODUCTION SCHECTER TAKES PAINS TO EMPHASIZE  
THAT KHRUSHCHEV HIMSELF WAS NEVER DIRECTLY INVOLVED WITH  
LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY NOR WITH THE CHAIN OF EVENTS  
WHEREBY HIS MEMOIRS CAME OUT OF THE SOVIET UNION. HE SAYS  
KHRUSHCHEV AND HIS FAMILY WOULD HAVE LIKED TO PUBLISH HIS  
REMINISCENCES IN THE SOVIET UNION BUT THEY REALIZED THIS  
WAS IMPOSSIBLE. "KHRUSHCHEV'S ASSOCIATES ON THE MEMOIR  
PROJECT," HOWEVER, DECIDED TO ACT AND,  
AFTER SECRET NEGOTIATIONS, LITTLE, BROWN AND LIFE MAGAZINE

ACQUIRED THE PUBLISHING RIGHTS. THE LATTER "UNDERTOOK NOT TO DISCLOSE ANY SPECIFICS ON HOW, BY WHOM, AND WHEN THE MATERIAL WAS TRANSCRIBED OR DELIVERED" AND "THESE

RESTRICTIONS ARE STILL IN FORCE TODAY." SCHECTER GOES ON TO STATE THAT "KHRUSHCHEV, HIS FAMILY, AND FRIENDS HAD TAKEN PAINS NOT TO VIOLATE SOVIET STATE SECRETS OR POLITBURO SECURITY REGULATIONS, AND NOT TO ACCUSE ANY LIVING SOVIET LEADERS." BUT HE SAYS, "KHRUSHCHEV'S FRIENDS AND FAMILY (DECIDED) SOME OF THE OLD MAN'S RAMBLING REVELATIONS WENT TOO FAR" AND WERE EXPUNGED.

(B) PROLOGUE CONTAINS KHRUSHCHEV'S RATIONALE FOR DICTATING HIS MEMOIRS WHICH BOILS DOWN TO HIS DESIRE TO DO HIS SHARE IN PROVIDING HISTORY WITH INFORMATION AND IMPRESSIONS. HE EMPHASIZES THAT HE IS WORKING COMPETELY FROM MEMORY RATHER THAN NOTES WHICH, HE SAYS A TOUCH SARCASTICALLY, GROMYKO MIGHT HAVE BECAUSE THAT WAS HIS BUSINESS. HE MAINTAINS HE IS NOT GIVING AWAY ANY MILITARY SECRETS BUT ADMITS HE MAY HAVE MADE A FEW MINOR MISTAKES WHEN DISCUSSING HIGHLY TECHNICAL PROBLEMS. HOPING THAT THIS RECORD WILL FALL INTO THE HANDS OF OBJECTIVE SCHOLARS, HE GOES ON TO STATE HE WAS A WITNESS TO STALIN'S TREACHERY AND BANDITRY; E.G., HE HEARD BERIA SAY THAT STALIN SAID AT THE BEGINNING OF WWII, EVERYTHING IS LOST, I GIVE UP...." TO MAKE MATTERS WORSE, HE CONTINUES "...A LOT OF PEOPLE ARE COVERING UP THE TRUE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY... (AND) WHITEWASHING STALIN'S ROLE..."

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(C) NIXON EXTRACT IS LARGELY A REHASH OF KHRUSHCHEV'S ACCOUNT OF THE 1959 "KITCHEN DEBATE" WHICH, OF COURSE, HE WON. HE SAYS "WE CONSIDERED HIM A MAN OF REACTIONARY VIEWS," BUT ENDS UP PRAISING HIM FOR HIS "GENUINE HUMAN COURTESY WHEN HE TRIED TO SEE ME AFTER MY RETIREMENT."

(D) KHRUSHCHEV'S DESCRIPTION OF THE 1960 UNGA LARGELY CONCERNS HIS BEMUSEMENT TO ITS DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES. CLAIMING THAT BOURGEOIS POLITICIANS WERE STAGING ALL SORTS OF OBSTRUCTIONS, HE ADMITS THAT DURING THE DEBATE OVER SPAIN HE "EVEN TOOK OFF MY SHOE AND POUNDED IT AGAINST THE DESK," THOUGH HE ALSO ADMITS "SOME PEOPLE," LIKE NEHRU, WERE CRITICAL OF HIS BEHAVIOR. HE SAYS THERE WERE 'SERIOUS TENSIONS IN OUR RELATIONS WITH (SG) HAMMARSKJOLD WHOSE PLANE, HIS INTELLIGENCE PEOPLE SAID, WAS SHOT DOWN BY LUMUMBA'S FORCES. AND HE GOES ON AT LENGTH TO JUSTIFY HIS PROPOSAL FOR A UNDERLINE TROIKA END UNDERLINE SECRETARIAT AS THE FAIREST WAY TO ADMINISTER THE UN

WHICH "AFTER ALL, I THINK...HAS BEEN A USEFUL ORGANIZATION."

(E) DEALING WITH INTELLECTUALS CONCERNS KHRUSHCHEV'S VIEWS OF BOTH THE TECHNICAL AND CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA. THE FORMER GENERALLY DOES NOT INTERFERE IN THE MORE COMPLICATED SPHERES OF SOCIAL LIFE, NAMELY IN IDEOLOGY, BUT THE LATTER POSES A MORE DIFFICULT AND SLIPPERY PROBLEM, HE SAYS. OUR CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA IS BETTER OFF THAN OTHER CATEGORIES MATERIALLY BUT SPIRITUALLY IT IS VERY TROUBLED. HE PRAISES SAKHAROV WHOM HE MET WITH FREQUENTLY, APPARENTLY AS A SCIENTIST, AND HIS ACCOUNT OF SAKHAROV'S LAST-MINUTE ATTEMPT TO HALT RESUMPTION OF H-BOMB TESTING PARALLELS SAKHAROV'S OWN. KHRUSHCHEV ALSO SAYS IN GENERAL HE CONSIDERS YEVTUSHENKO A TALENTED POET AND A GOOD MAN THOUGH HE HAS A WILD, UNGOVERNABLE, EVEN VIOLENT STREAK IN HIS CHARACTER AT LEAST FROM AN ADMINISTRATIVE POINT OF VIEW. KHRUSHCHEV APOLOGIZES TO PASTERNAK FOR HAVING HELPED SUPPRESS DOCTOR ZHIVAGO ON THE "ADVICE OF SOMEONE REPORTING TO US," FOR HE HAD NOT READ THE BOOK. TO JUDGE AN AUTHOR AND TO JUDGE HIS WORK ARE TWO DIFFERENT

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MATTERS. READERS SHOULD BE GIVEN A CHANCE TO MAKE THEIR OWN JUDGMENT. AND HE ENDS BY CALLING FOR MORE TOLERANCE AND GREATER OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA, SAYING HE DOESN'T SEE ANY NEED FOR RESORTING TO ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLICE MEASURES.

(F) ON SOVIET MISSILE DEVELOPMENT IS NOTABLE PRIMARILY FOR KHRUSHCHEV'S COLORFUL DESCRIPTIONS OF THE IMPACT OF MODERN WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY ON HIM AND HIS PRESIDUM COLLEAGUES WHO "WERE LIKE PEASANTS IN A MARKET PLACE" AND UPON SEEING THEIR FIRST ROCKET "DID EVERYTHING BUT LICK IT."

(G) THE (1960) TOUR OF FRANCE IS FULL OF HIGH PRAISE FOR SUPPRESSION OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY, AND "WHEN IT CAME TO FOREIGN POLICY ... (WAS) ONE OF THE MOST INTELLIGENT STATESMEN IN THE WORLD." DEGAULLE MISTRUSTED GERMANY DEEPLY, KHRUSHCHEV SAYS, AND EVEN TOLD ME THAT "I CAN PROMISE YOU WITH ABSOLUTE CERTAINTY THAT FRANCE WILL NEVER FIGHT AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION AS AN ALLY OF GERMANY." THE

ONLY CURRENT MAJOR FRENCH POLITICAL FIGURE MENTIONED IS CHABAN-DELMAS WHO KHRUSHCHEV SAYS MADE A GOOD IMPRESSION ON HIM. IN DISCUSSING THE COMPOSITION OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION KHRUSHCHEV REFERS SLIGHTLY TO KOSYGIN WHO WAS INCLUDED "BECAUSE THEY WOULD BE MEETING WITH FRENCH INDUSTRIALISTS, AND KOSYGIN HAD A USEFUL BACKGROUND IN THIS REGARD. I THINK HE'D ONCE BEEN THE DIRECTOR OF SOME FACTORY IN LENINGRAD."

(H) CHINA AND CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG BEGINS WITH A DESCRIPTION OF MAO'S VISIT TO MOSCOW IN 1949 DURING WHICH STALIN

BETRAYED KAO KONG FOR REASONS KHRUSHCHEV STILL DOES NOT UNDERSTAND. HE REVEALS THAT AFTER STALIN'S DEATH THE SOVIETS PROPOSED CHINA'S SENDING OF A MILLION OR MORE WORKERS TO SIBERIA TO HELP EXPLOIT ITS TIMBER RESOURCES. UPON REFLECTION, HE SAYS THEY WERE SORRY EVER TO HAVE SUGGESTED THE IDEA AND WHEN THE FIRST OF ABOUT 200,000 COMPLETED THEIR CONTRACT, THE IDEA WAS SHELVED. FOR WHAT THE CHINESE REALLY WANTED WAS TO OCCUPY SIBERIA WITHOUT WAR. THROUGHOUT THE SECTION KHRUSHCHEV COMPARES MAO WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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STALIN WHO TREATED THE PEOPLE AROUND HIM LIKE PIECES OF FURNITURE. KHRUSHCHEV CRITICIZES CHINA FOR PERSONAL ATTACK ON HIM AND HIS SUCCESSORS BUT NOTES THAT MAO IS NOT IMMORTAL. "IN THE END," HE CONCLUDES "THE TIME WILL COME WHEN CHINA WILL RETURN TO A CORRECT POLICY TOWARD THE USSR AND THE OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES."

(I) ADENAUER AND BOHLEN DEALS WITH THE 1955 RESUMPTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN WEST GERMANY AND THE USSR. IN IT BOHLEN TURNS OUT TO HAVE BEEN "A SHAMELESS REACTIONARY" AND ADENAUER A WISE LEADER. THE TREATY WAS SIGNED, ACCORDING TO KHRUSHCHEV, BECAUSE 'THE DESIRE FOR PROFITS ON THE PART OF GERMAN CAPITALISTS OVERRODE THE UNITED STATES' OPPOSING DESIRE TO KEEP THE SOVIET UNION IN A STATE OF ISOLATION." END UNCLASSIFIED.

5. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL. TIME WILL PUBLISH OTHER EXCERPTS FROM BOOK NEXT WEEK, INCLUDING KHRUSHCHEV'S EPILOGUE. IT SAYS MAJOR THRUST WILL BE PRO-DETENTE AND ANTI-MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX. END CONFIDENTIAL. RUSH

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